road company. If these workers are near, they visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually all these workers come back to the village when they become ill or too old to work. One complaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a man will leave the village for 6 months, become ill, and then return to the village to be treated. The missionaries claim that the Indians do not take care of themselves when away from the Post, that they spend their money on cane rum instead of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The general pattern consists in a young man spending several years away from the village, then returning, marrying, and settling in the village. After settling down he goes out to seek employment only occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen steadily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult to determine a standard wage at present. Before the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25 to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this money buys no more than before the war. From what has been said it can be seen that wages form an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and to build and repair the buildings belonging to the Post proper. The number of these workers varies; in January 1947 six men were thus employed. They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employment of Indians by the Post has other purposes besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is made to provide work for needy families even when the Post does not actually require their services. Another reason for employing Indians is to train them in building and in such crafts as carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The welfare function of this kind of wage work is revealed by the fact that when a man with a large family is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him in money but arranges credit for him at a store in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from supplies belonging to the Post.

(3) Three men were found to be making their living by carting, that is, transporting goods be-

166 434 464 [797] 465 [434] 434 464 [465] 177 434 464 [452] 434 463 489 494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses.

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day.

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby.

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services.

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay.

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time.

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [59] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, carâ, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. From manioc he makes meal and also starch [241] which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. He learned this craft from his [463] uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on roads and with the money earned he bought more livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He claims that he does not make enough money from his livestock to live and has to work for the Post on occasion.

159 [231] [511]

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

159 563

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a stake-walled one-room house, one side opening onto a shed where he has his work bench.

[342]

Feliciano learned to read and write when he was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very well with the Protestants. He was trained to be a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and repairs harness for people in the village and for people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

[212] [794] [463] [282]

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He learned to read and write at the Protestant mission school. He reads the Bible and sometimes newspapers.

159 [212] [797]

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

[Chaco Period]

Native dances like the Shaman dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities.

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work.

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and

/9/

Preface

/01 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
/33 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
/97 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
/61 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

/77 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
/42 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
/91 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
/62 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
/71 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

/21 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
/77 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11

G
Gi
M
161

/20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

G
464
[463]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
[177]

G
464
648
[101]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
114
177

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

G /68 cont./
241
286
G
295

make hammocks and various fabrics. --In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees.

G
231
463

They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
B
464
465

And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros, "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466
428

130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros. --It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head. --They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the [434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic [241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they [464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans [511] /feijão miudo/, and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by [463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out- [314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

/123 cont./ To declare oneself a "Catholic" is
785 already a habit for the Terêna. And among all the Terêna I
771 have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católica de Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano." But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands, it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

369 But how does this urbanized population earn its keep?
● 463 In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants), and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher). There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants, bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which represents the work most sought out by those who did not manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there.
[465] Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning salaries below /124/ average as compared with their compatriots connected with urban activities.

369 Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terêna who
619 live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terêna

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terêna is that of Aldeinha, owing to

/140 cont./

developed a superior technique, in combination with the great endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor. It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table" we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day, and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
254 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[162] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[824] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
826 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terêna with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
● 463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

826 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
824 what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
369 such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
167 to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
G 469 group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
167 and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

G *177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
8 wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G 191 cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G 142 classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G 563 184

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling